

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3447
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AMCONSUL BRISBANE
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AMCONSUL PERTH
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CINCPAC

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, AS
SUBJECT: CONFERENCE OF AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS ON THEME: "ADVANCE AUSTRALIA WHERE"

REF: CANBERRA 3793

1. SUMMARY: MEETING OF AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS IN ADELAIDE JUNE 15-17 ON AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY
WAS NOTABLE FOR NUMBER OF PAPERS INDICATING POSSIBLE NEW
DIRECTIONS FOR GOA. MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS WILLESEE
NOTED INTENTION TO EXPAND AUSTRALIAN INFO AND INTELLIGENCE
GATHERING OVERSEAS, EXPLAINING THAT INFO DERIVED FROM "OUR
FRIENDS" (NO COUNTRIES MENTIONED, BUT ALL CONCERNED KNEW
U.S. AND U. K. REFERRED TO) INHIBITS AUSTRALIAN ASSESSMENTS.
WILLESEE HINTED AT POSSIBLE AUSTRALIAN VOTE TO ADMIT PRG AND
GRUNK TO INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS. PROFESSOR BULL
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(AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY) SAID THAT CONTINUATION

OF ANZUS INHIBITS MORE INDEPENDENT AUSTRALIAN DIPLOMACY. LIBERAL-COUNTRY FOREIGN AFFAIRS SPOKESMAN ANDREW PEACOCK, NOTED FOREIGN POLICY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LABOR AND OPPOSITION AS CENTERING ON RELATIONS WITH U.S., WITH CHINA AND NORTH VIET-NAM, AND ON INCONSISTENT LABOR GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES ON NUCLEAR TESTING AND MIDDLE EAST.

1. A. GENERAL THEME RUNNING THROUGH THESE AND OTHER PAPERS DELIVERED AT CONFERENCE WAS DESIRE FOR ASSERTION OF MORE INDEPENDENT AUSTRALIAN STANCE IN WORLD. THIS DESIRE ARTICULATED MORE CLEARLY BY SOME SPEAKERS THAN OTHERS, AND THERE STILL WERE INDICATIONS OF HESITANCY TO ACCEPT FULL IMPLICATIONS OF MORE INDEPENDENT STANCE. BUT IN PRESENT ATMOSPHERE IN AUSTRALIA, WHERE NO SECURITY THREAT PRESENTLY PERCEIVED, PARTICIPANTS WERE CLEARLY PREPARED TO CONSIDER MORE INDEPENDENT STANCE.

1. B. PAPERS PRESENTED WERE ALSO MARKED BY LACK OF BROADER PERSPECTIVE ON WORLD, MOVING BEYOND NARROW FRAME OF REFERENCE OF AUSTRALIA ITSELF, E.G., IMPLICATIONS OF U. S. EFFORTS IN MIDDLE EAST, IMPACT OF MAJOR WORLD PROBLEMS, INCLUDING POPULATION PRESSURES, THE LONG-TERM ENERGY CRISIS. ALL OF THESE ISSUES WILL INEVITABLY HAVE EFFECT ON WHERE AUSTRALIA IS TO GO, BUT REALIZATION THAT THIS IS CASE DID NOT COME OUT CLEARLY EITHER IN PAPERS OR IN DISCUSSIONS. PAPERS REFLECTED PRIMARILY AUSTRALIA-CENTRIC VIEW, OBLIVIOUS TO THREATS AND DANGERS ELSEWHERE POSED BY OVERALL BALANCE OF FORCES IN WORLD AND PROBLEMS OF GREAT POWER RELATIONSHIPS.

END SUMMARY

2. AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, MOST PRETIGEOUS THOUGH UNOFFICIAL BODY DEVOTED TO STUDY OF AUSTRALIA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS, HELD CONFERENCE IN ADELAIDE JUNE 15-17 ON THEME, "ADVANCE AUSTRALIA - WHERE"? THEME IS PUN ON RECENTLY-ADOPTED AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM, "ADVANCE AUSTRALIA LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FAIR." HOWEVER, PUN HAS HIGHLY TOPICAL SIGNIFICANCE IN PRESENT CONTEXT, WHEN LEADING GOVERNMENT AND ACADEMIC FIGURES HAVE STATED THERE IS NO PERCEIVABLE THREAT TO AUSTRALIAN SECURITY FOR UP TO 15 YEARS.

3. USUAL RANGE OF PAPERS PRESENTED, MOSTLY BY ACADEMICS. THREE PAPERS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST: OPENING SPEECH BY MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

SENATOR WILLESEE, SET OUT SERIES OF PROPOSITIONS REFLECTING LABOR GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON FOREIGN POLICY. PAPER BY PROFESSOR HEDLEY BULL, PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AT AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, DISCUSSED "AUSTRALIAN PERCEPTIONS OF OUR ROLE IN THE WORLD," WHILE PAPER BY ANDREW PEACOCK, LIBERAL-COUNTRY OPPOSITION SPOKESMAN ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, COVERED "OPPOSITION FOREIGN POLICY: ALTERNATIVES OR BIPARTISANSHIP."

4. UNUSUAL ITEM WAS FRANKLY MARXIST CRITIQUE OF PAPER PRESENTED ON PROCESS OF FORMULATION OF AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY. PAPER PRESENTED BY DIRECTOR OF AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, DR. T. B. MILLAR, IN SEMI-HUMOROUS, SEMI-SERIOUS FASHION HE DOES SO WELL. MARXIST CRITIQUE PRESENTED BY RALPH PETTMAN, DEPT OF POLITICS, FLINDERS UNIVERSITY (NEAR ADELAIDE). NO TEXT OF CRITIQUE AVAILABLE, BUT PETTMAN SOUGHT, IN STANDARD MARXIST FASHION, TO RELATE PERCEIVED CONTINUITY OF MAIN THEMES OF AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY TO CLASS ORIGINS OF POLICY-MAKERS.

5. TEXTS OF FOLLOWING PAPERS AND ADDITIONAL COMMENT ON CONFERENCE WILL BE SUBMITTED BY AIRGRAM. MAIN POINTS OF THESE THREE PAPERS FOLLOW:

6. SENATOR WILLESEE'S PAPER - SENATOR EILLESEE EXPRESSED A DECISION BY GOA TO EXPAND INFORMATION AND INTELLIGENCE GATHERING FACILITIES BY AUSTRALIAN MISSIONS OVERSEAS. WHILE RECOGNIZING AND EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF INFORMATION PROVIDED BY "OUR FRIENDS" (NO COUNTRY SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED, BUT ALL CONCERNED AT CONFERENCE AWARE HE WAS REFERRING TO U.S. AND U.K.) LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HE SAID THAT "CONSTANT STREAM OF INFORMATION ORIGINATING FROM THESE SOURCES INEVITABLY REINFORCED THE COMMON APPROACH AND INHIBITED DIVERGENT ASSESSMENTS." HE WELCOMED CONTINUED FLOW OF INFO BUT ADDED, "OUR EVALUATION OF THIS INFORMATION IS NOW MORE SEARCHING THAN EVER BEFORE AND LESS PRONE TO UNCRITICAL ACCEPTANCE." HE NOTED THAT LABOR GOVERNMENT HAD EXPANDED NETWORK OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONSHIPS TO INCLUDE 21 ADDITIONAL COUNTRIES OF ASIA, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA (THOUGH RESIDENT MISSIONS HAVE NOT BEEN ESTABLISHED IN MOST OF THEM). HE MENTIONED WITH PRIDE AUSTRALIAN RECOGNITION OF GUINEA-BSSAU BY VOTING FOR ITS ADMISSION TO RECENT WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION ASSEMBLY AND SAID THAT ADMISSION OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, SUCH AS PRG AND "DISSIDENT FORCES IN CAMBODIA," TO SUCH INTER-

NATIONAL MEETINGS DID NOT NECESSARILY ENTAIL APPROVAL OF THEIR POLICIES AND DID NOT REQUIRE GOVERNMENT TO MOVE TO OFFICIAL RECOGNITION. HE EXPRESSED TRADITIONAL LABOR BELIEF IN POSSIBILITY OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

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R 190535Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3448

INFO AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

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7. PROFESSOR BULL'S PAPER - THIS WAS UNDOUBTEDLY MOST INNOVATIVE PAPER PRESENTED AT CONFERENCE BUT ALSO MOST DISTURBING, SINCE BULL IS BELIEVED TO HAVE CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE ON PRIME MINISTER. BULL PAPER REVIEWED FOREIGN POLICIES OF LABOR GOVERNMENT, ASKING IF THEY WERE NEW (HE CONCLUDED THEY FLOWED DIRECTLY FROM PAST POLICIES, INCLUDING THOSE FOLLOWED BY LIBERAL-COUNTRY GOVERNMENTS), IF THEY WERE VALID (HE CONCLUDED THERE WAS SOME BASIS FOR FINDING THEY OVER-EMPHASIZED IMAGE-MAKING RATHER THAN SUBSTANCE), AND IF THEY WENT FAR ENOUGH. CLEARLY, BULL DID NOT THINK THEY WENT FAR ENOUGH. HE CONCLUDED THAT "AUSTRALIA'S SECURITY IS STILL VITALLY DEPENDENT UPON THE CONTRIBUTION MADE BY THE UNITED STATES TO THE

PRESERVATION OF A BALANCE OF POWER IN THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGION." HOWEVER, HE ADDED, "I DO NOT THINK IT FOLLOWS FROM THIS THAT AUSTRALIA HAS A VITAL NEED FOR ALLIANCE WITH THE UNITED STATES," ANY MORE THAN SEVERAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OTHER COUNTRIES OF EAST ASIA. HE SAID THE CHIEF SOURCE OF SECURITY IN EAST ASIA IS "THE BALANCE AMONG THE GREAT POWERS ITSELF." HE SAID, "...OUR CONTINUED CONCERN TO PRESERVE THE ANZUS ALLIANCE INHIBITS THE WORKING OUT OF A MORE INDEPENDENT AUSTRALIAN DIPLOMACY...." HE SAID, "I DO NOT WISH TO ARGUE THAT WE SHOULD FORMALLY EMBRACE A POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT, ALTHOUGH I EXPECT THAT THIS WILL COME...THE AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE ALLIANCE HAS IN ANY CASE DECLINED AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO DECLINE FURTHER. THE AMERICAN STAKE IN THE MAINTANCE OF DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS IN AUSTRALIA--NOT MERELY PINE GAP AND NURRUNGAR, BUT ALSO NORTH WEST CPAE--WILL, I BELIEVE, DECLINE AS THE UNITED STATES DEVELOPS THE CAPACITY TO DEPLOY ALL HER STRATEGIC SYSTEMS IN HER OWN TERRITORY, IN SPACE OR IN WATERS ADJACENT TO HER--AND IT MAY BE HOPED THAT THIS WILL COME IN TME TO RELIEVE AUSTRALIA OF THE EMBARRASSMENT OF DECIDING NOT TO RENEW THE EXISTING AGREEMENTS...."

8. ANDREW PEACOCK'S PAPER - PEACOCK'S PAPER SUMMARIZED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LABOR AND LIBERAL-COUNTRY FOREIGN POLICY AS INVOLVING PRINCIPALLY 1) ATTITUDE TOWARDS RELATIONS WITH U.S. (LIBERAL-COUNTRY PARTIES SE U.S. AND AUSTRALIA AS EQUAL PARTNERS. DESIRABLE FORTHRIGHTNESS IN A RELATIONSHIP DOES NOT CALL FOR PERSONAL ABUSE OF KIND LEVELLED AT U.S. GOVERNMENT BY LABOR PARTY), 2) ATTITUDE TOWARDS PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND NORTH VIET-NAM (PRECIPITATE HASTE BY LABOR GOVERNMENT IN RECOGNIZING THEIR GOVERNMENTS), AND 3) INCONSISTENCIES BY LABOR GOVERNMENT IN DENOUNCING FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTS (BUT SOFT-PEDALLING CHINESE AND INDIAN TESTS) AND ON MIDDLE EAST (BIASED ATTITUDE FAVORING ARABS OVER ISRAEL). ON INDIAN OCEAN, PEACOCK NOTED THAT LIBERAL-COUNTRY PARTIES NOT RPT NOT OPPOSED TO CONCEPT OF INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE BUT COULD NOT AGREE WITH LABOR GOVERNMENT OPPOSITION TO DEVELOPMENT AND MAINTENANCE BY U.S. OS MODEST SURVEILLANCE CAPABILITY IN INDIAN OCEAN.

9. COMMENT: THERE IS INTERESTING PARALLEL BETWEEN VIEW OF PROFESSOR BULL THAT TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS WOULD LEAD U.S. TO WITHDRAW DEFENSE FACILITIES FROM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AUSTRALIA AND THAT EXPRESSED BY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER CAIRNS IN TV INTERVIEW ON JUNE 16 (REFTEL). THIS IS ALSO VIEW EXPRESSED PUBLICLY IN MAY, 1972, BY LANCE BARNARD, WHEN HE SPOKE ON LABOR DEFENSE POLICY AT AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY. EMBOFF TRAVELLED PART OF WAY TO ADELAIDE JUNE 14 WITH PROFESSOR BULL, IN COURSE OF WHICH BULL DIRECTLY ASKED IF U.S. HAD GIVEN THOUGHT TO WITHDRAWAL OF DEFENSE FACILITIES. EMBOFF NOTED VERY GREAT IMPORTANCE OF FACILITIES TO WORLD STRATEGIC BALANCE AND NEED FOR U.S. TO BE CERTAIN THAT CHANGE WOULD NOT RPT NOT DAMAGE STRATEGIC BALANCE. WHILE NOT EXCLUDING POSSIBILITY OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE THAT WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE REMOVAL OF FACILITIES AT SOME TIME, EMBOFF EXPRESSED DOUBT SUCH CHANGE IS ANYWHERE IN SIGHT AT PRESENT. BULL DROPPED ISSUE AT THAT POINT BUT TOOK IT UP AGAIN NEXT DAY IN PAPER DELIVERED AT CONFERENCE.

10. SUMMARY OF PAPERS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST ABOVE SHOULD NOT BE READ AS SUGGESTING THAT ATMOSPHERE WAS GENERALLY HOSTILE TO U.S. AND U.S. INTERESTS IN AUSTRALIA. WILLESEE SPEECH WAS AT SOME PAINS TO REFER TO U. S. IN POLITE TERMS, WHILE PEACOCK SPEECH WAS GENERALLY COMPLIMENTARY TO U.S. OTHER SPEECHES CONTAINED OCCASIONAL KEYS AT U.S. POLICIES, BUT NOTHING MORE SUBSTANTIAL.

11. SPEECHES BY SENATOR WILLESEE AND HIS OPPOSITION OPPOSITE NUMBER GAVE IMPRESSION OF GENERAL AGREEMENT ON NUMEROUS ASPECTS OF POLICY BY GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION. THESE DIFFERENCES WERE SUMMARIZED BY COMMENTATOR AT CONFERENCE, CREIGHTON BURN, ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF MELBOURNE AGE, AS INVOLVING DIFFERENCES PRINCIPALLY OF EMPHASIS AND STYLE. THIS IS PROBABLY REASONABLE ANALYSIS FOR MOST PART, BUT ON SPECIFIC ISSUES, INCLUDING SOUTHEAST ASIA, RECOGNITION OF NORTH KOREA, AFRICAN ISSUES, AND GENERAL FUTURE OF ANZUS AND JOINT DEFENSE FACILITIES, EMBASSY BELIEVES THERE IS CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION THAT GOES WELL BEYOND MERE DETAILS.
GREEN

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